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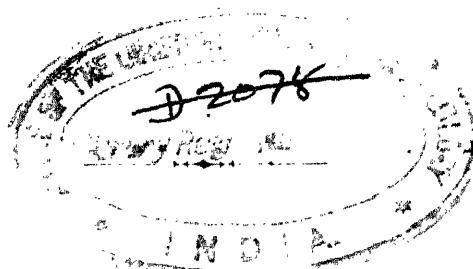
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COINS OF SOUTHERN INDIA

BY

R. H. C. TUFFNELL, M.S.C.

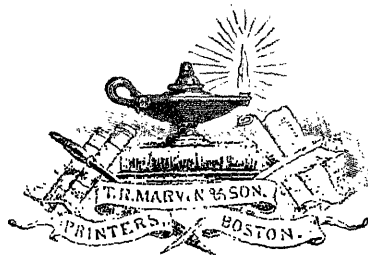
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## COINS OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

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HERE are few more fascinating pursuits to be enjoyed by the "dweller in a foreign land" such as India, than the collecting of those records of a bygone age, which, in the form of coins or inscriptions, carry us back beyond the reach of history to ancient times, when kings and dynasties ruled, whose very names are almost unknown to-day. But few countries there are, that have a history so wrapt in mystery as Southern India. While the northern portion of the continent can trace back the stories of successive dynasties from Moghuls and Pathans right away to the Bactrian rulers of the far northwest, the south knows nothing of her former existence, save what can be gleaned from such meagre information as the grant of some village to a Brahman priest, or an inscription rudely traced on a temple wall can supply. Nor is the case different with the successive coinages of the two portions of the peninsula. While the issues of the north are for the most part characterized by fair execution and legible inscriptions, we usually find on the medals of the south but little that can aid us in their identification. All the more reason then for those interested in numismatology to turn their attention in this direction, in order that fresh light may be thrown on a subject now wrapt in too dark a mystery. It is only by united effort that any solid addition to our present scanty knowledge can be gained, and

the recollection that every day the smelting pots of the goldsmith and copper-smith are claiming their victims, should urge each flagging collector to fresh exertions.

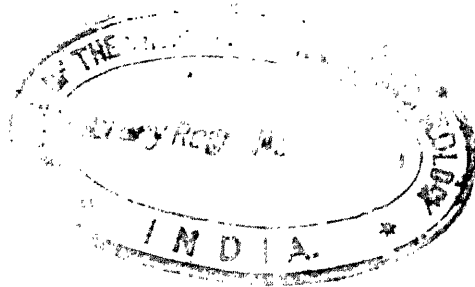
It is not, however, intended in these pages to go deeply into any type of Southern Indian coins, but rather in a short space to give a few hints to the tyro, who is just commencing this most fascinating study, and to help him in the identification of the commoner issues he is likely to meet with.

Many, doubtless, are deterred at the outset, by the difficulty of identification which presents itself with their first "find." As I have already said, most of the issues of Southern India boast no inscriptions to guide one; but for all that, there are not wanting distinguishing badges, which can in very many, if not in most, instances help us to assign them fairly approximately. It is, then, with a view to pointing out the most prominent of these, and thus enlisting fresh recruits in the slowly increasing ranks of students of the coins of Southern India, that this paper appears. What little literature has been already published on the subject has either become so scarce as to command a prohibitive price or, like Hawkes's invaluable little pamphlet on the coins of Mysore, is out of print. Under the able supervision of the present Superintendent of the Central Museum of Madras, a great step in the right direction has been taken, by the arrangement of all the copper issues of Southern India, but many sections are still woefully weak in specimens, notably those of the Cholas, Pandyan, and Chalukyan.

To the collector who has been at work any time, the large number of coins scattered throughout the country cannot fail to be a subject of wonder. The beginner, on the other hand, or the owner of a few specimens, who has never really *hunted*, will probably complain of the scarcity of issues procurable. The writer has purchased in one place, in two days, no less than 28 lb. weight of copper coins, and yet been told by residents on the spot that search is hopeless, and that no coins were ever found there. Let not the tyro then be discouraged at a few blank days. Every village in India contains coins—gold ones among the jewels of the rich, copper ones among the rubbish of the

<sup>1</sup> A copy of Princep's "Indian Antiquities" now fetches as much as ten guineas, or about fifty dollars.

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poor — but it takes tact, patience, and practice to lure them from their lurking places. It is no unusual thing to hunt through a village without seeing a sign of a coin, and be assured that there never were any, and yet the next day, armed with a handful of old coppers, as examples of what one wants, to ferret out some prizes. To the native mind an *old* coin is of no more value than a modern one of identical weight and of infinitely less interest, and it is only when the mild Hindu realizes that for one pie that is old, he can get two pies that are current, that his little store is unearthed. Take, as I have said, a handful of old coppers with you, and sitting on his doorstep show them to the village chief, and try to coax out whatever he may have. Encourage passers-by to stop and gape, and gradually whatever the village contains will be at your mercy, and a prize thus gained is a prize indeed.

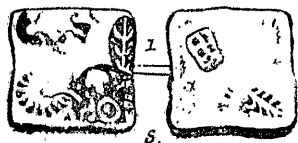
Gold coins are now so rare that (with the exception of an occasional interloper) one can easily remember them all; silver pieces, prior to the issues of the East India Company, excepting an occasional “punch-marked” Buddhist, may be said to be practically non-existent. Of copper, thousands of thousands are found, and it is to these that we must turn our attention chiefly. A word or two here about the sizes and weights of these coins may not be out of place. The Chola and Pandyan issues appear to have been struck in three sizes, the largest and smallest of which are found both in copper and gold, while the medium size has only been found in the former metal. The largest is just about the size of the four-anna piece, the medium slightly more than half this, and the smallest, in copper, only just large enough to receive one letter of the inscription, though slightly larger in gold. The average weights are, approximately, in gold 68 and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to 8 grains, and in copper 60, 24 and 9 grains, respectively.

Mohammedan issues (chiefly Pathan) which occur in considerable numbers—having wandered south either in course of trade, in the scrips of pilgrims, or brought by the conquering hordes of the north—are in rupees and mohurs, each of approximately the same weight and averaging generally from 160 to 170 grains, while the copper issues, usually more or less alloyed with silver, vary very considerably. The Hindu pagoda and fanam are of



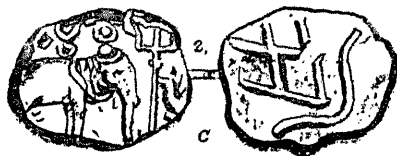
gold, the former usually almost a spherical coin and weighing about 52 grains, the latter a small thin piece rarely reaching 6 grains. The early French issues struck in Southern India are of two sizes in copper and two of silver, their respective weights being approximately  $57\frac{1}{2}$  and  $32\frac{1}{2}$  grains in the former and 45 and  $22\frac{1}{2}$  grains in the latter metal. As far back as 1668, issues of English silver money were struck in Bombay. In the latter part of the last and early part of the present century, English medals were coined following the Mohammedan and Hindu system. Those current in the south consisted firstly of the single star and other pagodas in the Hindu style (weighing from 52 to  $52\frac{1}{2}$  grains), and subsequently of a more modern type of coin in double and single pagodas, weighing 91 and  $45\frac{1}{2}$  grains, respectively, in gold, while the silver series of half and quarter pagodas weighed 325 and  $162\frac{1}{2}$  grains, and the silver fanam 29. By royal proclamation of the 7th January, 1818, the pagoda series gave way, and the rupee of 180 grains (350 to 100 pagodas) became the current coin of the country, and has so continued ever since.

To turn now to the coins that are most commonly met with in the southern districts of the peninsula, we find that the earliest represented are evidently of a Buddhist origin, and these are found from end to end of India, and are by no means uncommon in the Island of Ceylon. Through them we trace the early history of coining. First, we have small pieces of metal, some rectangular, some circular, and some apparently slices cut from a bar of metal.

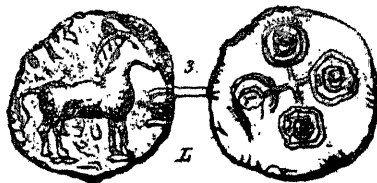


These we find followed by irregular flat pieces of silver and copper, at first utterly devoid of any mark, but later bearing the impression of some device or devices *punched* upon them, and hence known as the "punch-marked" Buddhist type. Though by no means common, they are met with in silver, gold and copper, the first being by far the commonest. An examination of a few of these coins will show that all the marks they bear were not stamped upon them at one time, as one device is often seen to override another; and hence we may conclude that successive kings (or periods) stamped on the coins in general use a mark of their own sovereignty or time. The earliest emblem of all would seem to be the sun, in the form of a rayed

circle, for this device appears upon every issue more or less distinct and is followed by a number of others, such as the "chaitya," the "chakra" or wheel, the "caduceus" or wizard's rod, the Buddhist tree, etc. Of these Sir Walter Elliot, in his recent contribution to the "Numismata Orientalia," has figured a considerable number of specimens, and many were also illustrated in the early numbers of the *Madras Jour. of Lit. and Science*. (See Vol. IV, No. 7, 1858 J.) From them we pass to the more recent *die-made* issues, of which specimens in copper are frequently met with in Southern India, especially in that prolific coin centre, Madura. These are almost invariably rectangular and bear on one side an elephant with apparently Buddhist symbols, and on the reverse a checquered pattern as shown in No. 2, beneath which is a wavy line. The native legend is that these coins were struck in Madura at a very early period, and that the line denotes the river, while the checquered pattern is supposed to represent a plan of the city.

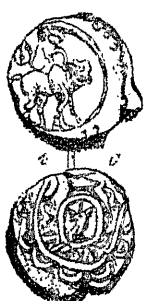



It is not, however, only in the ordinary coin metals (gold, silver and copper) that the collector will find issues bearing evidently Buddhist emblems. He will not be long on the hunt before he comes across circular (and rarely rectangular) coins in *lead*. These are found, for the most part, in the Krishna and Godavari districts, but occasionally in Mysore and other parts of the south, and are usually attributed to the Andhras, a dynasty of considerable antiquity, mentioned by Pliny,<sup>1</sup> but whose story is wrapt in prehistoric mystery. These coins, for the most part, bear on the obverse a horse, a lion, an elephant or some other animal, the reverse being occupied by what is usually known as the "four-balled chakra," a form of the Buddhist wheel.



Travelling down southward now along the eastern coast, we find, chiefly on or near the seashore, a type of coin, rare in silver but fairly common in copper, all with the metal beaten very thin and exceedingly brittle, bearing

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, Lib. V, Cap. XVII, "Validior deinde gens Andaræ," etc.

on the obverse almost invariably a bull, and on the reverse a rayed "chakra" or wheel, and occasionally a device not unlike a sym-  


 bolical altar. These occur in considerable numbers near the Seven Pagodas (Mahavalipuram), and are usually attributed to the Curumbars, a race of some power, which lasted till about the eighth century of our era, when they fell before the Cholas who annexed their country. The Rev. W. Taylor, in his account of the Mackenzie Manuscripts, observes of this people, that—

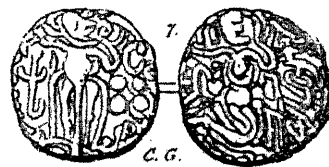
"They had a certain kind of religion ; they were murderers ; they derived their name of Curumbars from their cruelty. Some of them spread into Dravida desám as far as the Tonda-Mundala country. They are now found near Uttramalur,<sup>1</sup> but are more civilized. They ruled the country some time, but falling into strife among themselves, they at length agreed to select a chief, who should unite them together. They chose a man who had some knowledge of books ; who was chief of the Dravida country, and was called Camanda Curumbar Prabhu, and Pallal Rajah. He built a fort in Puralur. He divided the Curumbar land into twenty-four parts, and constructed a fort in each district. . . . While without any religion, a Jaina (Buddhist) ascetic came and turned them to the Jaina credence. . . . At length Adondai of Tanjore formed the design of subduing them, and invading them, a fierce battle was fought in front of the Pural fort, in which the Curumbar king's troops fought and fell with bravery ; and two-thirds of Adondai's army was cut up. He retreated to a distance overwhelmed with grief ; and the place where he halted is still called Cholan-pedu. While thinking of returning to Tanjore, Siva that night appeared to him in a dream, and promised him victory over the Curumbars, guaranteed by a sign. The sign occurred ; and the Curumbar troops were the same day routed with great slaughter ; the king was taken, the Pural fort was thrown down, and its brazen (or bell-metal) gate was fixed in front of the shrine at Tanjore."

Sewell (in his account of the dynasties of Southern India) considers some of the figures carved round the base of a pillar in the Kachalésvarasvami temple to be portraits of Curumbars, and describes them as there represented as being "woodsmen with peculiar high caps, short swords (?) and water-

<sup>1</sup> A village, according to Sewell, about 15 miles from Madrantikam.

gourds slung over their shoulders. The features," he adds, "are highly characteristic and are utterly unlike those of any other sculptured figures I have seen in Southern India." The occurrence on their coins, as also occasionally on those of the Andhras, of a "d'honi" or native boat, seems to prove that they were a maritime people carrying on a commerce by sea.

We must now pass to consider the marks which distinguished the coins of the three large dynasties which at one time held sway in Southern India generally, viz: the Cholas, Pandyans, and Cheras. Tradition has it that in prehistoric time, the whole of this part of the country was ruled by three brothers of the names of Cholan, Pandayan, and Cheran, and from these sprang the three powerful dynasties which took their names. The power of the Cheras seems to have been never very great, though their nominal sovereignty extended from the country round their capital, Salem, to the hills of Travancore and Palnai. The Pandyans had their capital at Madura, and included in their boundaries the most southern portion of the peninsula, (with the exception generally of the country round Ramnad, which was under the dominion of the Setupatis); while the Cholas, with their capital usually at Tanjore, ruled the surrounding districts, amusing themselves constantly with inroads into their neighbors' territories, sometimes even as far as Ceylon. Each of these three powers bore on its flag a distinctive emblem or badge. The Cheras boasted a bow, the Pandyans a fish, and the Cholas a tiger, though the coins of the latter are usually distinguishable by the rude figure of a "rakshasa" or man standing upright, with head thrown back, and apparently holding in front of his face a flower. In his pendant right arm he holds a weapon (?). A straight line between his legs, and a waving one on either side, mark his flowing "duputa" or cloth, and under his left arm usually appear five dots. The reverse bears a similar figure curled up in an uncomfortable position, with legs crossed, his right hand resting on his right leg. Beneath the left arm we usually find the name of the king, or rarely some emblem, such as the Pandyan fish. No collector will be on the hunt long, especially in or round



that rich treasure-house of coins, Madura, without meeting with large numbers of specimens of the issues of Raja Raja, the greatest of the Chola princes, who ruled in the eleventh century, when the power of his race was at its zenith, and no better type of Chola issues than his could be found. So plentiful are they, indeed, that one cannot help the conclusion that all those bearing his name could more probably be attributed to a line of kings than all be issues of a single sovereign.

The constant warfare which raged between Chola and Pandyan not only renders it well nigh impossible at any particular time to fix the exact boundaries of their respective territories, but also causes considerable uncertainty as to the identity of a large number of their coins. When the Pandyans conquered, they appear to have retained their fish, adding thereto the Chola emblem; and when the Cholas were victorious, they returned the compliment—a custom which extended even to the times of the Mohammedan power in Mysore, where we find Hyder, that most bigoted of Mohammedans, retaining



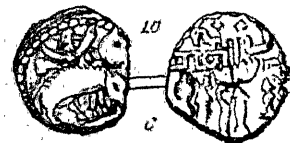
a Hindu reverse to his fanams and pagodas while his own initial adorned the obverse. Thus in No. 8 we have a coin<sup>1</sup> which bears the name of Raja Raja, with the usual Chola emblem, but instead of the five dots

common to most coins of the type, we here find the Pandyan fish. Then again

in No. 18 we have a coin which, while it bears the name of Sundara Pandya ("Pandya the Beautiful," possibly a title of the Pandyan monarchs generally and not the name of any particular king), has on the obverse the standing figure of the Cholas.



In No. 10 again we find a boar, the emblem of the Chalukyan dynasty, in combination with the two fish and sceptre of the Pandyans.<sup>2</sup> While then we can with comparative safety lay down the axiom that where the fish occurs, the Pandyan has something to do with it, and that the tiger or standing figure proves that when the coin was struck

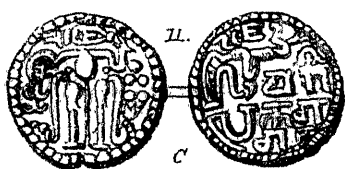


<sup>1</sup> It is only recently that this coin has been brought to light, and, as far as I can ascertain, only two specimens of it have as yet been found.

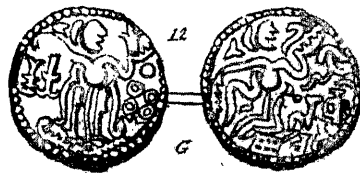
<sup>2</sup> *Apropos* of this coin, it may be interesting to note that Rajendra Chola, who subdued the Pandyans, is supposed by some to be a descendant of the Chalukyans.

the Chola had a finger in the pie, in the absence of any distinct legend it is impossible to place each issue exactly. To enter at all deeply into the numerous combinations that are constantly coming to light would carry me far beyond the limits of this paper.

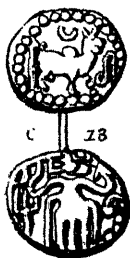
There is, however, one branch of the Chola issues to which I must briefly allude. The tyro will probably find among his coins ere long a type resembling generally the common issues of Raja Raja, which yet differs from them in a marked degree. The coins I allude to are more perfectly round, the figures stand out in bolder relief, the letters are in a squarer type of Nagari, and whereas the edges of the Indian type are worn thin, these are usually as square as a modern shilling. These coins, known as the Simhalese (Cingalese) type of Cholas, were struck by the kings of Ceylon, the Indian Chola coin being in all probability the prototype. The incursions of the Cholas would naturally lead to the introduction of their coins, and it is more than probable that this led to the coinage of the series in the island. Two speci-



mens of these I figure, the former appearing only in copper and being fairly common, while the latter, — known as the



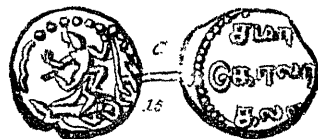
“Lankesvara” coin, — is of gold and by no means rare. Both are issues of Parakrama the Great (A. D. 1153), and their constant occurrence in Southern India goes to prove the intimate connection that must have existed between the island and mainland, though this does not appear to have been always of a friendly nature. Later Indian issues, while retaining the original obverse,<sup>1</sup> have on the reverse sometimes an elephant and sometimes a bull (as in No. 13), but as none of these bear any name or title it is impossible to say whether they should be attributed to rulers of the island or the continent.



<sup>1</sup> A very full description of this series will be found in Rhys Davids' article in Vol. I of the “Numismata Orientalia,” Part VI. <sup>2</sup> This obverse has already been described above, and represents a “rakshasa,” etc.; see page 9, figure 7.



The Pandyan emblem, as I have said, was the fish, and this appears sometimes singly in the centre of the coin with a sun and moon in the field, while in others two fish are represented with either a sceptre or inscription between them. Sometimes the fish appear crossed; in later issues it occupies the exergue, with a dancing figure of Vishnu or Garuda in the field. Unlike the coins of the Cholas, the Pandyan issues usually bear an inscription, but unfortunately out of thousands of specimens that are constantly being found at or near the old Pandyan capital, it is very rarely that one meets with a single medal with an inscription of which more than one or two letters are decipherable. Nor have we, to help us here, what countries with a written history can boast, a reliable list of the sovereigns of the various dynasties that have ruled. In Pandyan issues especially, owing to the bad state of preservation in which they are usually found, the want of some such list is deeply felt. By far the commonest name decipherable on their coins is Sundara Pandya, and it is not improbable from the variations in the coins bearing this name, that it was merely a dynastic title. Other names certainly occur, such, for example, as appear to read "Korkai Andán, Kula Shek'hara, Vira Pandya, Soku Laban, Bhutála, Samara Kolahala (No. 15)," etc., and though among these here and there appear one or two names, such as Kula Shek'hara, Vira Pandya, and Somara Kolahala, which have found a place in one or two of the numerous lists that have been published from time to time, founded on grants and inscriptions of the period, by far the greater number bear "names—empty names," the very reading of which is in many instances decidedly doubtful.



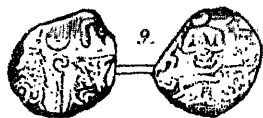
Other coins again, instead of recording the name of the king who struck them, merely record an event in his reign. Such is the case with No. 14 above, on the reverse of which appear the words "Kanchi Valankun Perumal" (the king who gave back Kanchi or Conjeeveram) and this may connect the piece with Sundara Pandya of Nelson's list, for in an inscription cut in a rock "which forms the side of an old ruined Saiva church near

Tirupparankunram," and which is translated in the "Madura Manual," we find as one of the recommendations of Sundara Pandya—

"Who, when the Chola, who had fled after being deprived of his kingdom and city, returned in confidence and presented to him his (the Chola's) son, declaring (complimentarily) that his son bore the title of Pandya, and prostrated himself before the Pandya's victorious throne, and humbly besought him; who then went and took hold of his hands, putting aside all anger, and pouring water on them presented the conquered territory to the son of the Chola. Then the kings of all the countries of the world, surrounded by the ocean that has great waves, paid their respects to the Pandya, the benefactor of all, and begged of him that this kingdom presented by him of his freewill to the son of the Chola, to whom had been joyfully (or out of compliment) given the Pandya's name, should thenceforward be known as 'the kingdom once conquered by the Pandya.' Who then presented him with the Chola kingdom and with the Sri Muk'ha or order to use as his signature a seal, representing a bright fish; entitling him 'the king of the country which was before lost;' and giving him also the old capital city, and then gave him leave to depart."

This passage, when we remember that Kanchi (Conjeeveram) was at one time the Chola capital, would certainly appear to connect the coin with the king here referred to, who, having done a generous thing, was by no means inclined to hide his light under a bushel.<sup>2</sup>

Another coin, bearing the same name, I also figure as being very unlike the usual type of Pandyan issues. Whether the figure is standing, or sitting on a two-legged stool in the attitude of a Jain figure, I am unable to say, but incline to the former opinion, though the latter may be possible, as, though usually Sivaites, there appears to have been at one time a tendency to Jain worship among the early Pandyans. And this leads me to speak of another type of coin which occurs in large numbers in and around Madura. These invariably bear the "lingam" on one side, sometimes plain, sometimes



<sup>1</sup> In the Madura "St'hala Purana" (12th story) the same event is noticed, the conquered king being there called "The Chola king of Kanchipura."

<sup>2</sup> Thus also among the early Bactrians, we find a king of such inordinate vanity that because he was known in

his own time as "the Great Saviour," (in Greek,) considered it unnecessary to put his own name on his coins. To this day his issues are among the commonest one meets with in the whole series, but his name remains a mystery still.





surrounded by a row of dots, which may possibly be intended to represent a wreath of flowers, and sometimes in a "vimana" or shrine, while the reverse has two standing figures. At other times, again, it appears perched on the back of a bull and occasionally on a bird, possibly having an allusion to Minakshi, Siva's wife, who was held in great reverence in Madura. In the absence of any legend, it is of course impossible to place such coins with any degree of certainty; but the fact that they are found in considerable numbers, and often in conjunction with Pandyan issues, at the old Pandyan head-quarters, and the certainty that this people were ardent worshippers of Siva in this form, would seem to me fair circumstantial evidence on which to base this theory.

About the middle of the sixteenth century the Pandyan dynasty gave place to the Nayakas. Having quarreled among themselves and fallen a prey to the Cholas who invaded their country,<sup>1</sup> the Pandyan king sought assistance from the Raja of Vijayanagar, who sent an army first under a general of the name of Kotiya Nágama, and then to keep them in order a second under Nágama's son, Vismanatha. He, being a man of parts, duly conquered his enemies, nominally reinstated the rightful king, but put himself in to act, and then, *more antiquorum*, confirmed himself and became sole ruler. On his coinage he followed the custom of the country, and retained the two<sup>2</sup> fish and sceptre of the Pandyan, inscribing his own name around it. But few coins of the Nayakas seem to be found, but those that do occur usually have on the obverse a figure of Garuda or Hanuman, with inscriptions (almost invariably

<sup>1</sup> See Sewell's Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. II, p. 200.

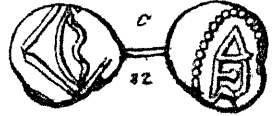
<sup>2</sup> Sir Walter Elliot, in his recent contribution to the "Numismata Orientalia," figures a coin as No. 144 bearing these same emblems, and an exactly similar one in my own collection, found at Madura, is very distinct. Regarding this and the coin which follows it in his sequence, he says: "This is a coin with the Ceylon type on both sides with the addition on the obverse of two fish and a crozier, and on the reverse, under the arm, letters which appear to read 'Terumalai' and may refer to a Nayak of Madura. . . . . Another coin has the recumbent bull and the word 'Ketu' and the standing figure on the obverse, but as there is no fish it is doubt-

ful whether it can be assigned to a Pandyan reign."

Now regarding the first of these two coins, this issue bears the undoubted name of the first Nayaka Visvanatha; hence, as this one hails from the same place, bears the same marks, and so nearly the name of one of the greatest kings of the same dynasty, we may with a fair shows of reason assign it to the great Tirumala, the builder of the famous palace at Madura. The reading on the latter coin is "*Setu*" and not "*Ketu*" in two specimens that I have, the first letter showing this plainly, and the piece I attribute to the Setupathis or rulers of Ramnad. I came across some of the same type, and in two sizes, in Ceylon.

too worn to be legible) on the reverse. As far as I can learn, no gold coin of the Nayaka dynasty has yet been discovered.

The Cheras, as I said above, supply the coin-collector with but very few specimens. Two types only occur which may with some degree of reason be attributed to them. The first of these shows on one side the "katar," or native long-handled dagger, and on the other the bow—the coins being thin and in appearance not unlike those of the Curumbars, of which I have already spoken. The other type belongs evidently to a later period,



and is a round dumpy piece, having on the reverse a design regarding the identity of which I have never heard any theory suggested and am unable to form any opinion, while on the obverse appear numerous symbols, but invariably the bow, the Chera emblem, on either the right or left. These coins are met with chiefly in Tripati, Salem, and the Coimbatore district.

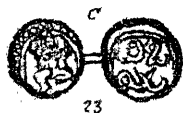
Early in the fourteenth century arose the Vijayanagar dynasty, which eventually grew to be the most powerful that Southern India has ever known. Its capital was at Beejnagar (or Humpi) some thirty miles to the north of Bellary, and its power when at its zenith extended over the greater part of the south; but at the battle of Talikota (A. D. 1565), they fell to rise no more before the Mohammedan armies of Dakhan, the Raja and his descendants retiring to the hill forts of Pennakonda,<sup>1</sup> in the Anantapur district, Vellore and Chandragiri. From the latter fortress, "Sri<sup>2</sup> Rang Raya, then the representative of the old house, granted in 1640 a deed handing over to the English the site of modern Madras. Unfortunately that document was lost during the French occupation of Fort St. George, but it is stated that in addition to the grant of land, it conferred the privilege of coining money, on the condition that the English should preserve on their coinage the 'representation<sup>3</sup> of that deity who was the favorite object of his worship.'"

<sup>1</sup> Sewell's *Archaeological Survey*, Vol. I, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> Marsden's "*Numismata Orientalia*," Part II, p.

<sup>2</sup> Bidie's "*The Pagoda or Varaha Coins of Southern India*," 739.

How these conditions were actually fulfilled we shall see when considering the early English issues of Southern India. A tentative list of the successive monarchs of the Vijayanagar line has been published by Mr. Sewell in the second volume of his Archaeological Survey Report of Southern India, and among them occur several names familiar to the coin-collector in this part. Like their predecessors, they had no silver currency, but their gold pagodas are frequently met with even now in every part of their once wide dominions. These pieces, usually averaging about 52 grains in weight, have been quite exhaustively treated of by Surgeon-General Bidie in his valuable contribution to the Asiatic Society of Bengal,<sup>1</sup> a paper that has since been published in pamphlet form by Messrs. Higginbotham & Co., of Madras, and which should find a place in the library of every coin-collector in the Presidency. Of silver coins they had none, but copper issues attributable to them are found over the length and breadth of Southern India. On the obverse these bear the figure of some deity of the Hindu mythology, while the reverses vary very considerably. The coins of Deva Raya usually bear with his name the figure of a bull or elephant, or the *Ganda Bherunda* or double-headed bird so familiar to us on palamposhes and tapestries. Tirumala has on the obverses of his pieces Hanuman (the monkey god). Krishna Deva takes Garuda, the winged vehicle of Vishnu. Sadasiva used Durgi, the boar incarnation of the same deity. A long series apparently of a later date bear on one side the word "Sridhara" in Telugu, and on the other a variety of symbols, such as the sun, the sun and moon, an elephant, a lion, one or two snakes, a gecko, Narasimha (the lion-faced form of Vishnu), Hanuman (the monkey god), Ganesa in the form of an elephant, or two gods sitting side by



side. There are two coins very similar to these, to which I must here allude, as I have seen them in more than one collection attributed to this series. The first of them, one-twentieth of an anna in value, bears on one side the letters of a word meaning "victory," or more probably they may be the initial

<sup>1</sup> Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. LI, Part I, 1883.

letters of the monarch in whose reign (A.D. 1729-67) the first issue was coined. The coin belongs to the State of Puducotta, and regarding it Mr. Seshiah Sastri, C.S.I., the present enlightened Dewan of the Tondiman Rajah, in a recent letter, informs me—

“On the reverse is the figure of Brahadamba, the family deity of the Tondiman. This figure gives the name to the coin, which is current only within this State” (Puducotta). “It is coined locally in a rough way, and its greatest circulation is during ‘Navarathri’ or ‘Dusserah,’ when it is issued (four to each) along with the rice dole every day during the nine days. It seems that in Madura a similar coin was in circulation with a similar figure, but in a standing posture” (this I figure as No. 24). “Here the sitting posture was adopted to distinguish it from the other, which up to that time used to circulate in this State also.”



On the break up of the Vijayanagar power on the battle-field of Talikota, a thousand and one petty chieftains, who had sworn eternal fealty to them in the days of their greatness, declared themselves independent, and started mints on their own account; but the coins they struck are characterized in most instances by being as puny in comparison with those of Vijayanagar as was their power with that of their former rulers. Some of them appear merely to have copied the issues of their predecessors, while others coined minute gold pieces known as “fanams,” a term which later came to be used as an item in the English monetary system in South India. All of those that I have come across have been figured by me in a recent issue of the Journal



of the Asiatic Society,<sup>1</sup> and I therefore pass them by unnoticed here,<sup>2</sup> merely picturing one (No. 25) as an example of the series. This small piece of money was coined by Kanthirava Ars, who, from A. D. 1638 to 1658, ruled the province of Mysore, and whose successors seem to have made re-issues thereof, so that the coin is fairly common among the *olla podrida*, usually to be found in the bags of the shroffs or money exchangers of the Mysore towns. Early copper coins of the province (?) are also occasionally met with bearing on one side a well defined figure of a

<sup>1</sup> Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. LV, Part I, 1886. meet with a hitherto unpublished coin of this size, struck by a Chola king.

<sup>2</sup> Since writing this I have been lucky enough to

dragon or other animal or Canarese numeral, and on the reverse a chequered pattern. From the fact that I have met with some dozen specimens of this coin in or near Mysore and Seringapatam, and (with the exception of two I procured in Bangalore) have never found them elsewhere, I attribute them to this province, with which the dragon and character of the numerals also connect them. The same reverse also appears on what are known in Mysore as the "âne paisa," or elephant pice, having a figure of an elephant with the sun, moon, or both above, and which are exceedingly common there.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century we find Mohammedan interests gaining the ascendancy in the Mysore province, and with it, as might be expected, a finer type of money than any that had preceded it, coming into vogue. In 1766 Nanjeraj succeeded to the sovereignty of the State, and during his reign the famous Hyder rose to power.

In 1775 the king died, and his successor being a child, the reins of government fell into the hands of the unscrupulous Mussulman, with whose usurpation the well-marked, neatly executed coins, which had for years characterized the Mohammedan mints of the north, came into use, their clear cut impressions and legible superscriptions forming indeed a striking contrast to the usually rough issues of the Hindu monarchs of the south. In his coins the reverse bore his initial, the Persian letter ( $\tau$ ), in substitution of the word "Sri" which had previously marked them, while on the obverse he retained the old pagoda form, Siva and Parvati sitting side by side, and holding the deer and trisul. He established several mints, such as Bangalore, Bednoor and Calicut, which latter place he conquered in A. D. 1773. Unlike the coins of the Hindus, too, those struck by Mohammedans almost invariably bear a date, and as many such issues are met with, regarding which I shall have to speak hereafter, a word or two on the subject of their dates may not be unwelcome to the uninitiated.

Their years reckon from the Hijrah or exodus of Mohammed, which took place on the 16th July, 622 A. D., and as the reduction of the Hijrah dates to those of our era is often necessary for the identification of many coins one meets with, especially those in which the year is legible, while the name of

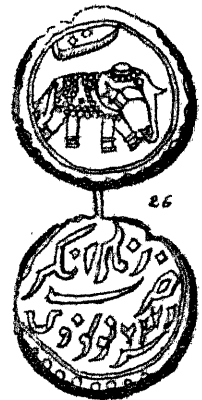
the ruling sovereign is effaced, I append the Hijrah dates corresponding to the commencement of each half century of our era.

A.H.	A.D.	A.H.	A.D.	A.H.	A.D.
1 . . . . .	622- 7 <sup>1</sup>	450 . . . . .	1058- 2	900 . . . . .	1494-10
50 . . . . .	670- 1	500 . . . . .	1106- 9	950 . . . . .	1543- 4
100 . . . . .	718- 8	550 . . . . .	1155- 3	1000 . . . . .	1591-10
150 . . . . .	767- 2	600 . . . . .	1203- 9	1050 . . . . .	1640- 4
200 . . . . .	815- 8	650 . . . . .	1252- 3	1100 . . . . .	1688-10
250 . . . . .	864- 2	700 . . . . .	1300- 9	1150 . . . . .	1737- 5
300 . . . . .	912- 8	750 . . . . .	1349- 3	1200 . . . . .	1785-11
350 . . . . .	961- 2	800 . . . . .	1397- 9	1250 . . . . .	1834- 5
400 . . . . .	1009- 8	850 . . . . .	1446- 3	1300 . . . . .	1882-11

Unlike ordinary Persian or Hindustani writing, numbers in that language are read from left to right the numerals being represented as follows:—

.	۱	۲	۳	۴	۵	۶	۷	۸	۹	۱۰
۰	۱	۲	۳	۴	۵	۶	۷	۸	۹	۱۰

There is, however, one notable instance in which these do not hold good. On the accession of Tipu to his father's throne in Mysore, he greatly enlarged the number and variety of coins in circulation in his dominions; and, being withal a man of an inventive turn of mind, started an era of his own, which counted not from the *flight* but from the *conversion* of Mohammed twelve years before the Hijrah. Hence it is no unusual thing to find coins of Tipu's to all appearances posthumous. This system he was pleased to style *Múlúdie*<sup>2</sup> and in it the numbers read *from right to left*. A specimen of this I figure as No. 26, on the reverse of which appears "Sun Múlúdie, 1226," in Persian, corresponding to 1811 of our reckoning, whereas Tipu completed the sum of his iniquities in A. D. 1799.



<sup>1</sup> That is, commencing in the 7th month (July) of that year. Arabic months are lunar.

<sup>2</sup> Mir Hussein Ali Khan Kirmani, in his history of the reign of Tipu (a continuation of the "Neshani Hyduri"), says: "The institution of the Muhammadi year, which is thirteen years more than, or exceeding that of,

the Hijri, it being reckoned from the conclusion of the prophet's office and the commencement of the duties of his mission (the office of prophet and that of a particular mission are considered distinct), being previously arranged and ready, was now made current throughout the whole extent of the Sultan's dominions."

During his reign<sup>1</sup> two distinct systems of coins were in use in Mysore—the mohurs, and the rupees of the Mohammedans side by side with the pagodas and fanams of the Hindu. The former of these included double, single, and half gold mohurs (though as far as I can learn there is no specimen of the first extant) and double, single, and half rupees. The whole series (known as the “Sultani”) resembles very closely the double rupee I figure as No. 27, though the inscriptions on all vary slightly in minor details. The usual inscription (translated from the Persian) is as follows: “By Hyder’s victories is the faith of Ahmad



made bright in the world. Struck at Pattan (Seringapatam) in the year of the Hijrah 1200.” The smaller coins corresponding to this series are known as the “Bakri,” struck in the sixth year of his reign (and so called, possibly, after Mohammed Báker, the Fourth Khalif) the “Jasri,” or two anna piece, struck in the eleventh year, the one anna bearing the word “Kasmi,” struck in the twelfth, and a half anna, also in silver, with the word “Kisri” impressed thereon. In all these coins the milling is different from that of any other coins I know; the lines, instead of running straight across, as usually in milled coins, are angular, the angles pointing along the circumference, a feature which readily aids in the detection of many forgeries.

During Tipu’s reign a very large number of copper coins were in circulation, and these are still common in every bazaar in the province. As a rule they bear the elephant on the obverse, and on the reverse the mint town. Above the elephant, in some instances, he places the date, sometimes reckoned by the Hijrah era, at others following his own patent system. Others again he inscribed with the name of a planet, usually that of Jupiter (Mushta) over the larger, and of Venus (Z’hera) over the smaller, while others bear only the word “akhtur” (star). Another series, again, are distinguished by the addition over the elephant of one of the first three letters of the Persian alphabet.

<sup>1</sup> Hence, in Article II of the “Treaty of peace between the confederated powers and Tipu Sultan,” we read, “Three kroor and thirty lak of rupihs to be paid by Tippoo Sultan in gold mohurs, pagodas or bullion.”

Hawkes, in his invaluable little pamphlet on the coins of Mysore (published in 1857), entered most exhaustively into the copper issues of Tipu, but unfortunately his useful little book is now out of print and no longer procurable, though the very complete catalogue of the coins in the Madras Central Museum will go far to supply its place.

On the fall of Tipu and the return to power of the Hindu line, the elephant was at first continued, but the Persian inscription gave place to Kanarese and a rude style of English in which it is not unusual to find one or more letters upside down. Shortly



afterwards the Mysore lion was substituted for the elephant, and this device continued



to be in vogue till the province ceased to have a distinctive coinage of its own. In gold the Hindu raj still held to the old Ikkeri type of pagoda, which, with a different reverse has been continued through the Mohammedan period, the words "Sri Maharaja Krishna" now taking the place of Hyder's initial. He also made a re-issue



of the canteroy fanam, and a series in silver of (approximately) four, two, and one anna pieces, bearing on one side the



dancing figure of Chamundi, and on the other an inscription in Hindustani on the larger, and in Kanarese on the two smaller issues. All these are still very plentiful in Mysore.

Having thus touched on the chief characteristics and distinguishing marks of those coins which have been struck by the indigenous races of Southern India, I now propose to treat of those minted by foreign powers in this part of the peninsula. Among these powers may be mentioned the Roman, Mohammedan, Portuguese, Danish, French, Dutch, and English, to each of whose issues, in turn, I shall briefly allude.

The first difficulty which presents itself is the question of distinguishing those coins which have been actually struck on the spot from those which have found their way to these parts in the course of trade, and especially difficult is this in the case of Roman issues. Though at first Egypt was the



medium of trade between Rome and the Indies, we know that after the subjugation of that country by the imperial troops, a very considerable direct trade sprung up between the two countries, and in consequence of this, the Roman issues found in Southern India, the portion of the peninsula which boasted of the ports of Musiris and Barace, have hitherto been attributed to a European mintage, and supposed to have been conveyed, in Roman ships, to be bartered here for the ivory and ebony<sup>1</sup> that adorned the boudoirs of the fair maids of Imperial Rome, and for the pepper and spices in which their hearts delighted. That such was the case with the large hoards of *aurei* that from time to time have been unearthed is more than probable, for from time immemorial the native of Southern India has loved to bury his riches in the ground, and the merchants who carried down their goods from the interior for sale to the Roman ships at Musiris, doubtless on their return home made mother earth their banker. The perfect state of preservation, too, in which these coins have almost invariably been found, precludes the possibility of their ever having been much in circulation. Most, indeed, are so perfect that from their appearance they seem to have come direct from the *Moneta* on the Capitoline Hill to the shores of India, merely to have been buried here and unearthed centuries after, to tell of the vast extent of the enterprise and power of that great European nation that once meditated the conquest of this land. Such, however, cannot be said with equal certainty of the stamp of coin to which I now allude, and of the existence of which no record has, so far as I am aware, ever yet been made. These little copper pieces are found in and around Madura, and some years' hunting has proved to me beyond any doubt that they were at one period in general use in that part. Hitherto they appear to have completely escaped the notice of collectors, and consequently, no theory regarding the place of their mintage has been proposed. For the following reasons I incline to the opinion that they were struck on the spot and were not importations from Rome.

In the first place, during a recent visit to Madura and the surrounding villages in quest of specimens, I came across no less than seven of these

1 "Sola India nigrum fert ebum."—*Virgil*.

coins, Roman beyond any doubt, but of a type which appears to me to be totally distinct from that found in Europe. These specimens were scattered over several parcels that I examined, and were not all together in one or two, as is usually the case when a number of issues have been dug up together. Nor was this by any means a solitary instance, for I have rarely paid a coin-hunting visit to these parts without meeting with more or less specimens, and other collectors tell me that their experience has been the same. Moreover, they are not the kind of money that one would expect the rich Roman merchant to bring in payment for the luxuries of the East; but small, insignificant copper coins, scarce the size of a quarter of a farthing, and closely resembling the early issues of the native mints. Then, again, though as I have said, large hordes of aurei<sup>1</sup> have from time to time been discovered, and solitary specimens of course ever and anon occur, I have never yet heard of the discovery in Southern India of any of those fine copper coins (known as first and second brass) so plentifully found among the Roman remains exhumed in various parts of Europe; of all the specimens I have met with, not one has borne the faintest resemblance to them. Nor is this all. While aurei have been discovered in various parts, and on one occasion a large number of the denarii of Tiberius and Augustus together, the stamp of coin I now refer to, occurs, as far as I can learn, in and around Madura *alone*, and this surely points to the probability of the existence at one time of a Roman settlement at or near that place. And after all, what more natural than that, as trade increased and Eastern luxuries became more and more popular with the fair dames of Rome, small settlements of agents should be established to collect on the spot the produce of the country, and convey it to the ships of their employers on their periodical visits to the ports of call. True, no traces of those fine Roman buildings one sees in Europe have been discovered, but could one expect to find, in a small community of mercantile agents settled for a short period in the heart of a foreign and uncivilized nation, any evidence

<sup>1</sup> In 1851 a find of these coins was made near Cannamore on the Malabar coast, a description of which appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* of that year. It is said that no less than five cooly loads

were discovered on that occasion, some few of which are, I believe, still in the possession of H. H. the Maharajah of Travancore.

of their existence that would last as many centuries as have rolled by since Roman merchants traded in the East, unless it be such coins as I describe, struck specially for the purposes of trade with a pauper population? Looking then to the facts that all the coins of this series are well worn as though they had been in regular circulation, that they are of a type differing from those usual to the Imperial mints, that they are of so small a value as to be what one would expect to find in use when dealing with a people as poor as the early Hindus, that they are found almost exclusively in one locality, that they are *constantly* being found and not occurring in a glut at intermittent periods,—surely all these arguments point to the possible, if not indeed the probable, truth of the theory that they were of local mintage.

On the obverse of all that I have met with, appears an emperor's head, but so worn that with one or two exceptions the features are well nigh obliterated. In one or two specimens a faint trace of an inscription appears running round the obverse, but hitherto I have not come across a single specimen in which more than one or two letters are distinguishable. The reverses vary considerably, but the commonest type seems to bear the figures of three Roman soldiers standing and holding spears in their hands. Another bears a rectangular figure somewhat resembling a complete form of the design on the reverse of the Buddhist square coins found in the same locality, while most are too worn to allow of even a suggestion as to what their original design was intended to represent. On one specimen the few decipherable letters appear to form part of the name Theodosius, and the style of coin points to the probability of its having been issued during the decline of the Roman empire, possibly after the capital had been transferred to Constantinople. Another specimen in gold that I have seen, now in the collection of the Rev. James E. Tracy of Tirumangalam, closely resembles on the reverse an issue in the British Museum of Leo III, who ruled the Eastern Empire at the commencement of the eighth century. It is to be hoped that ere long further investigation may reveal specimens in better preservation, from which some definite knowledge can be obtained.

1 Finds of similar coins have also been made at Anarâdhapara and Colombo recently.

To pass from the period when the money of Rome was in circulation to the time when the Pathan rulers held sway, seems a somewhat excessive bound. Yet, as far as I am aware, during this interval, no money locally struck in a foreign name found currency here, though one occasionally comes across a Persian tomân which circulated in Mysore, or a specimen of "hook-money," or *larin*,<sup>1</sup> minted probably on the shores of the Persian Gulf and conveyed hither in the course of trade, or as some suppose struck in the Maldives. The place of mintage and date of these strange pieces of money seem lost in obscurity. Usually they occur in the shape, as their name implies, of a fish-hook, and are formed of two pieces of silver wire welded together and doubled round into this shape. A rarer form is perfectly straight. "Fish-hook" larins are found in larger numbers in Ceylon than in Southern India, but are of considerable rarity in both localities.

We pass now to the times of the Pathans and Moghals. The earliest issues of these coins found in any quantities in Southern India date back to the time when Mohammed bin Taghlak ruled the destinies of Delhi, about the middle of the eighth century of the Hijrah era (A. D. 1324-51). This king, the nineteenth of his dynasty, at once "the most eloquent and accomplished" and the most cruel and merciless prince of his race or time, extended his conquests in every direction, and eventually incorporated into the kingdom of Delhi nearly the whole of the southernmost parts of India, and even at one time meditated the conquest of China. Over each portion of the more distant parts of his enlarged dominions separate rulers were set, the most southerly of all, that of Malabar, falling to the lot of Ahsan Shah, the father-in-law of the famous traveller Ibn Batutah; while in the appointment of Hussain Gango, was laid the foundation of the Bahmani dynasty of the Dekhan, whose line extended well into the sixteenth century of the Christian era. So extensive became the kingdom of Delhi at this time, and so distant from the seat of the supreme government its outlying provinces, that the

<sup>1</sup> François Pyrard, a Frenchman, who from 1602 to 1607 was a captive in the Maldives, thus writes: "Aux Maldives on ne fait que des larins . . . . . des pièces d'argent qu'ils appellent larins de valeur de huist sols

on ennuiron de notre monnoye, comme j'ai desia dit, longues comme le doigt mais redoublés. Le roi les fait battre en son isle et y imprimer son nom en lettres arabesques."

governors, over whom a merely nominal sovereignty could be exercised, soon cast off even the semblance of allegiance to their royal master, and promptly undertook, what to the Mohammedan mind represents the first act of an independent ruler, the issue of coins in their own name. At the same time, Mohammed bin Taghlak, undeterred by the fate of his Persian predecessor, Kai Khatú Khan, introduced a "forced" currency, in which copper tankahs were made to pass current for silver coins of identical weight. The introduction of this system rendered Mohammed bin Taghlak so unpopular as to encourage each discontented sirdar in provincial charge to raise the standard of revolt.<sup>1</sup>

Of the Bahmani issues so few specimens occur in the south that the collector is not likely to come across any. They are generally thicker than those common to the Delhi and other Pathan mints, and usually have the word Bahmani in Persian after the ruler's name. Such, however, is far from



being the case with the contemporary coins in the more southerly province. Coins of Ahsan Shah (No. 35) frequently occur, and he was followed by a line of rulers, all of whom appear to have issued money in their own names. I am, however, obliged to defer all notice of these for the present, as it would require a separate paper for their consideration ;

<sup>1</sup> Ferishtah's narrative of the issue of this currency has been thus translated:—"The Sultan's means did not suffice to satisfy his desires; to gain his ends, therefore, he created a copper currency, ordering coins of that metal to be struck in his mint after the manner of gold and silver; he then ordained that this copper money should pass current as gold and silver, and so should be used in all commercial transactions. The Hindus brought large quantities of copper to the mint and had it coined, and so made for themselves enormous profits; and purchasing goods and exporting them to other countries, received in exchange gold and silver money. Goldsmiths also manufactured coins in their own houses and passed them in the bazaars. After some time things came to such a pass that at distant places the Sultan's edict was not observed, and the people took the king's coins only at their intrinsic value in copper, and speculators brought them thence to those parts of the country where the order remained in force and there exchanged them for gold and silver. In this

way the copper currency became by degrees so redundant that, all at once, it utterly lost credit and was regarded as mere rubbish, while gold and silver became even more precious than before and commerce was entirely deranged. When the Sultan saw that his measure had failed, and that he could not, even by punishment, bring the whole population to obedience, he issued a decree ordaining that every one who had a royal coin might bring it to the treasury and receive in exchange a gold or silver coin of the old stamp. He thought by this means to restore his copper currency to credit, so that it might again be accepted; but the copper money which had been in people's houses and been thrown on one side as worthless, was immediately collected and brought to the treasury to be exchanged for gold and silver coin; and the copper tokens still remained as little current as before, while all the royal treasuries were emptied and general financial ruin fell upon the whole kingdom."

I am in hope that at no distant period the series of these rare and almost unnoticed coins may be rendered more complete than they now are; though hitherto unpublished, they are of the greatest interest alike to the historian and numismatist, and, consequently, deserve a far more exhaustive treatment than could be here afforded them.

At first Ahsan Shah seems to have retained in use the Delhi mint issues, but soon there appears a stamp of coin apparently not met with in the north. (No. 36.) This piece bears on one side the name of the king (Mohammed ibn Taghlak Shah), and on the reverse (Justice exalted). In make and general appearance this issue follows the usual characteristics of the small copper and billon issues of the Delhi and other Pathan mints, but differs therefrom in some minor particulars. His 'forced' tankahs are frequently met with, even now. These thick brass coins, weighing approximately 140 grains, bear on the obverse, "Struck as a legal 'tanka' by the hopeful slave Mohammed Taghlak," and on the reverse round the margin the name of the mint town and year of date, and in the centre, "Who obeys the king obeys the Merciful One." The commonest date on these coins is 730, though a few have 731 and fewer still 732, a fact which, as Thomas points out, affords strong proof of the rapidly increasing unpopularity of the scheme. How complete was the success of Ahsan's revolt and the consequent severance from the court of Delhi of the provinces over which he ruled, is evidenced by the fact that no issues of later Pathans occur in the south, while the rebel coinage, as we shall see hereafter, is continued through a long succession of rulers.



Nor do we find issues in any number of other Mohammedan princes (the Mysore usurpers of course excepted) till we come to the times of the later Moghals. A few stray issues naturally occur, as one would expect when we remember that swarms of Hindu pilgrims from the north yearly flock to the temples of Tripati or Conjeveram or the sacred shrine of Ramesweram, there to present as money offerings any coins they may have in their possession, brought hither from the countries whence they came, and of no other use to

them here. To attempt to touch on these, however, would of course lead one into a consideration of the whole monetary system of India, and be far beyond the scope of any single paper.

The Moghals in their monetary dealings with the south appear to have followed, in point of size and weight, the Hindu system of pagoda and fanam; and issues of Mohammed Shah (A. D. 1719)<sup>1</sup> and Alemgir II (A. D. 1754)



occur of the former type, and fanams of both these as well as of Ahmad Shah and Shah 'Alum. Other names also appear on fanams, notably that of Sikandar (No. 37), these coins having on the reverse the date 1087 (Hijrah), while others bear the name of a southern mint town, as for instance, those of Mohammed Shah struck at Bálápúr in the Mysore country.

Before leaving the subject of the Mohammedan coins of the south, I must briefly allude to those of the Nawábs of the Karnatic. The gold coins of this dynasty have been noticed by Sir Walter Elliot in his contribution to the National Numismata Orientalia. He there says: "The *húns* of Sa'adut Ulla Khán, who succeeded Nawáb Dáwad Khán and died in 1731, are recognized by the Persian letters for *illah* on the granulated surface, which are replaced on those of his relative Safdar 'Ali Khán by the letter *ain*. On his murder in 1741, the office of Nawáb was conferred by the Nizám on another family, that of Anwar-ud-dín Khán, but his son Mohammed 'Ali received his investiture direct from Delhi, with the high-sounding title of Wálájáh Nawbá-ul-Hind in 1766." He also figures three gold coins, two of which follow the type of the Chendragheri pagoda<sup>2</sup> and bear on the granulated surface, the one an *ain*, and the other the word *Wálá*, while the third, retaining the latter inscription, has a rude figure of Hanuman on the reverse. There can, of course, be no doubt but that the latter two coins are issues of Mohammed 'Ali, and I cannot but think that the first also should more properly be attributed to him, than be assigned, as it is by Sir Walter Elliot, to his predecessor Safdar 'Ali Khán. The *ain* would certainly not help us to

<sup>1</sup> Compare the interesting paper entitled "The Pagoda or Varaha Coins of Southern India" (Nos. 25 and 26), by Surgeon Major G. Bidie, M.B., C.I.E. —

For which see *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1883.  
<sup>2</sup> Marsden, pl. 48, No. 1083. Bidie, No. 19.

fix it, as it is the initial letter of the names of both; but whereas we have specimens in copper still retaining the *ain*, and bearing with it the word "Wálájáh," we do not, so far as I aware, meet with coins bearing his predecessor's name in the same conjunction, and hence I think there is a good show of reason for placing it in the long reign of Mohammed 'Ali. No notice has, as far as I can learn, been taken hitherto of the copper issues of this king, though there exist long series of them, and one of considerable interest as showing the tendency of coins inscribed with legends in a foreign language to become debased and assimilated to the issues of the surrounding country. The copper coins struck in the capital, Arcot, are in three sizes, and are as well executed as those of the contemporaneous Moghals. On one side they bear the word *wálá* with Hijrah date below, and on the other "Struck at Arcot, year of the reign." Those apparently struck in the outlying provinces, however, are of far ruder make, and resemble the small Hindu copper issues, while the formation of the letters, as well as the form of the coin, varies very considerably. One type of these consists of thin flat coins, having on one side (which is usually slightly concave) the word *Wálá* in a rectangle, and on the reverse *jáh* in a ring of dots; another is a thick coin having the whole title, *Wálájáh* on one side, with *Nawáb* below, and the date on the other; while another of the same type has the *Wálájáh* on one side, and the *Nawáb* on the other, surmounted by the date. A third type, again, has the title written *Wálá*, above which is *jáh*, and this at the hands of the Hindu mintmen degenerated into a mere design, a parody on the Persian numerals adorning the reverse.

A still more Hinduized edition retains a fair copy of the *Wálájáh*, but with a sceptre supported by the sun and moon on the reverse. In the same way we find some issues in which the *ain*, to which I have alluded above, is reversed, while the imitation of a date appears below, the reverse being occupied by the cross lines so common on the early Hindu coins. Passing from these we find a coin, possibly struck by the officers of the Nawáb, bearing on one side the *Wálájáh*, somewhat debased, but with a perversion on the reverse of the Tamil letter *n*, which is written in a peculiar form, the



converse possibly of what I have already described,—a rough attempt of a Mohammedan or other non-Tamil chief at striking a coin bearing the initial of the Nawáb's title in a foreign language. Others, again, are by no means uncommon which bear on one side the initial *n* properly formed, and on the reverse a fish or bird or beast, such as occurs on many coins of the Hindus, and especially those of Mysore prior to the Mohammedan usurpation, while others have a lingam on a bull's back. On several occasions and in different places natives have assured me that this *n* stands for the first letter of Nawáb, and regarding it in connection with the sequence I have tried to follow out above, I think there is fair reason to accept it. It may have gone even further and have been the prototype of a series of coins bearing on one side Hindu figures and on the reverse a design which I cannot otherwise explain.

We must now pass to a short consideration of the types of European coins minted in Southern India, far the most numerous of which, with the exception of those of the English (to be afterwards considered), were struck by the Portuguese. An instructive little handbook (in four fasciculi) of these coins was published in Bombay in 1883 by Dr. Gerson da Cunha, but this is now out of print and no longer procurable, except by chance. In this interesting work the following is given as the extent of the Portuguese power in India when at its height:—

"When their star was in the ascendant, and consequently they in the zenith of their energy and vitality, the Portuguese held dominion over the east coast of Africa, the Persian Gulf, the Malabar Coast, Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula to the confines of China. The *quinas* then floated over the following fortified towns: Ormus, Diu, Damao, Goa, Bassein, Chaul, Hanowar, Mangalore, Cannanore, Cranganore, Cochin, Calaiate, Colombo, Malacca, Ternate, Tidore, Amboina, Macao, Solor and Timor. Out of these towns, eight had established in them mints which issued money more or less regularly in gold, silver, copper, and tutenag, but two of them in the last two metals only, until the forcible abolition through their capture by the Dutch. The following were the mint marks of six of these towns:—

B	. . . . .	Bassein.	D, or D-O	. . . . .	Diu.
C-LO	. . . . .	Ceylon. <sup>1</sup>	G, or G-A	. . . . .	Goa.
D	. . . . .	Damao.	M, or M-A	. . . . .	Malacca.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., to whom I am greatly indebted for information regarding the coins of the Dutch in Ceylon in the following pages, informs me that Rhys Davids (*loc. cit.*, p. 36) is in error in asserting

that "no coins are known to have been struck by the Portuguese in or for Ceylon." Mr. Bell's cabinet contains two bearing the Ceylon mint mark (C-Lo).

"No mark of the Chaul and Cochin mints has yet been made out, although the *Archivo Portuguez Oriental* contains authentic documents relating to their foundation and their operations, besides preserving for posterity interesting decrees and proclamations, referring to various coinages and changes in the value of money."

Of the issues of these mint towns by far the commonest met with are naturally those struck at Goa, which from almost the first appearance of the Portuguese in this country has been the capital of their possessions (commonly known as "India-Portugueza"). As far back as the commencement of the sixteenth century, we find the Portuguese settled in Cochin, but with an eye on Goa as the object of their ambition. This town was at that time under the suzerainty of the kings of Bijapur, but no sooner did the great Alfonso de Albuquerque arrive to assume the governorship of the Portuguese Indies, than he decided to seize it, and on the 10th February, 1510, entering the harbor with his fleet and surprising the garrison, he made himself master of the town. Hearing shortly afterwards of the temporary absence of the governor, the King of Bijapur retook it and garrisoned it with a strong force of Mohammedans. These, however, held it but for a short time, for on Albuquerque's return in the following November he recovered it, and it has remained the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India ever since. No better governor of a newly annexed dependency could probably have been found than Albuquerque, for he at once set out to work to enlarge and fortify the place, "he established laws and tribunals, encouraged commerce, favored marriages between the European settlers and the natives, and caused a mint to be erected and money to be coined in the name of Emmanuel, King of Portugal." From this time for upwards of a century the story of the Portuguese in India is one of gradually increasing power, while in like ratio the capital grew in importance, till in 1557 we find it raised to the dignity of an archbishopric. At the commencement of the seventeenth century the records are said to prove that in the city alone there were no less than 150,000 persons professing the Christian religion. Meanwhile, however, another power had been growing in the East, — the Dutch, who in 1603 blockaded Goa, but failed to take it. At the same time, by withdrawing a large share of

the trade which the Portuguese had hitherto enjoyed, they considerably weakened their position, and from this time dates the commencement of the wane of their power. Within the next forty years Ceylon, Malacca and the Moluccas were lost, and so rapid was their fall that Tavernier tells us that when he visited the locality in 1648 many of the inhabitants, who on the occasion of his first visit (1642) boasted of incomes of 2,000 crowns, were beggars when he went the second time. Henceforward, little by little, point after point was lost, the Dutch and English gradually gaining in power at the expense of the Portuguese, and then the English by degrees driving out the former, till by the middle of the eighteenth century the only mint towns left to Portugal were Goa and Diu. Of these, the latter continued operations till 1864, and the former till the signing of the monetary convention of the Anglo-Portuguese treaty on the 18th of March, 1880. By this convention the former coinage of the Portuguese in India became obsolete, and the English rupee and anna system was made the only legal tender throughout the Portuguese territories. All their coins were to be struck by the authority of the Government of Portuguese India, but were to be coined on their behalf by the Government of British India and by no other agency. The series consists of rupees, half rupees, quarter rupees, and one-eighth rupee in silver, each bearing on one side the effigy of the King of Portugal, with the legend *Ludovicus I, Portugalie et Algarbiorum Rex*, or such other effigy and legend as the government may from time to time desire, and on the other side the value of the coin, the year of the Christian era, and the words *India Portugueza*. The copper coins are similarly stamped, and of the value of *half tanga*, *quarter tanga*, *eighth tanga* and *real*, corresponding, respectively, to the half anna, pice, half pice, and pie of the British system.

To turn now to the issues in use prior to the signing of the convention, we find a vast number of coins struck in gold, silver, copper, and *tutenag*,<sup>1</sup> a new stamp usually marking the rule of each successive governor. These coins generally bear on one side the coat of arms of Portugal, so frequently

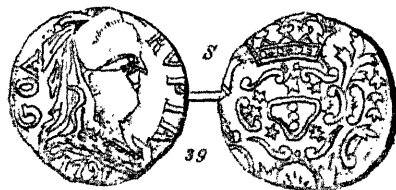
<sup>1</sup> A base metal said to correspond with the "gong" metal of China.

seen over the entrance porches of the Goanese churches in St. Thomé and elsewhere, surmounted by a crown and having in the field one or more of the letters mentioned above, indicative of the place of mintage. The gold coins



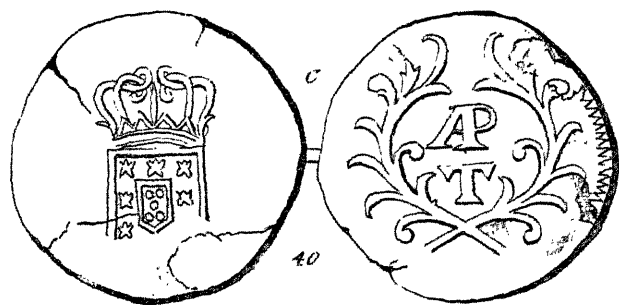
I have seen bear on the obverse this design and on the reverse usually the cross of the Order of Christ or of St. Thomas, with the value in the upper two corners, and the year of mintage in the lower. (No. 38.)

The later silver coins (Rupias and Pardaos) usually bear the same coat of arms and mint mark, but on the reverse the head of the reigning monarch with the value of the coin (No. 39), while the earlier issues follow the same type as the gold.



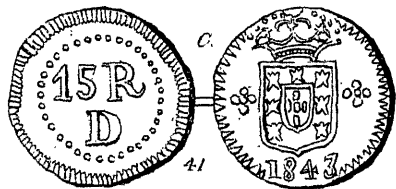
A few early issues, and in one or two instances later ones also, bear the cross, while some few of very recent mintage have on one side the effigy of the king surrounded by the usual inscription, and on the other the words RUPIA GOA or merely RUPIA in a wreath of leaves. The copper coins (of which I figure two as fairly characteristic of the series, viz: a tanga of D. Pedro V and a piece of 15 reis of the

same king, Nos. 40 and 41) are so multitudinous in number and in form of design that even in a far more extensive paper than the present it would be hopeless to attempt to describe them at all in detail, nor is such my object here, but rather to call attention to the more prominent



marks on the common coins, so as to assist the tyro in their identification, and where possible to point out those authorities from which more detailed accounts can be obtained. As in the coins in the more precious metals, the coat of arms of the country usually finds a place on one side of the copper issues and on the reverse sometimes a cross with the numerals of

the date in the four corners, and occasionally St. Catharine's<sup>1</sup> wheel, while in the more modern issues the value of the piece appears (Nos. 40 and 41).



It is worthy of note that in no instance do the Indo-Portuguese coins bear any inscription or word in a native language, a custom followed, as we shall presently see, by every

other nation more or less (except the Danes), who struck money for circulation in India. It will be observed further, that a large number of Portuguese coins, especially those in the baser metals, bear initial letters or abbreviations which cannot fail to be somewhat perplexing to the beginner. I have already given those which stand for the mint towns, and now append a list of other abbreviations of common occurrence, taken chiefly from the readings of Dr. da Cunha.

A.P. or AP for Portuguese Asia.

R.P. or P.R. for Portugalæ Rex.

P. ET. AR. for Portugalæ et Algarbiorum Rex.

F. II for Filippæ II.

I. V for John V.

I. H. S. V. for In hoc signo vinces.

BCCO. for Bazarucco.

S. TOME for St. Thomé, a coin worth 4 rupees.

X. or x for Xerafin, a coin of 300 reis.

M. T. for Meia Tanga.

T. or T. T. for One Tanga.

Numeral alone, for the value of the coin in reis.

The following are the relative values of the various Portuguese coins that have found currency in India:—

30 Reis = 1 Meia Tanga.

60 Reis = 1 Tanga.

2½ Tangas = 1 Meia Pardao.

2 Meia Pardaos = 1 Pardao.

2 Pardaos = 1 Rupia.

In addition to the coins I have already mentioned, the Venetian sequin (the Sánár-kásu of the natives) was also current in Goa and the neighbor-

<sup>1</sup> As it was on the 25th of November, 1510, when it (Goa) became subjected for the second time to the Portuguese sway, and as that day is dedicated in the Roman calendar to the memory of the celebrated virgin and martyr of Alexandria, St. Catharine, she was chosen for the patroness of the city; a church or rather a chapel

was immediately raised in her honor, which still exists, and in which every year her festival and the anniversary of the victory of the Portuguese are celebrated with the greatest solemnity by the Franciscan friars.—De Kloegen's Historical Sketch of Goa.

ing parts. This thin gold coin (No. 42) is still found in considerable numbers in the south, though not in great variety, the only names of Doges as yet recorded being those of Giovanni Cornaro, Pietro Grimani, Alvisio Mocenigo, Paolo Reinieri and Luigi Manin. In weight they vary from 51 to 55 grains. Exactly similar pieces also occur in copper; but I question whether they are coins at all, it being more probable that they are merely imitations, struck as ornaments to be worn by native women: for the gold coins, of which they are faithful copies, are held in some veneration by the natives of the south, who have connected some curiously interesting legends with them.

The issues of the Danish mint at Tranquebar are also fairly common, and consist chiefly of four-cash pieces in copper and far more rarely of ten-cash in silver and copper. All bear on one side the initial or monogram of the reigning monarch, and on the other in the earlier coins the monogram of the Company, as shown in No. 43, with two figures of the date on either side, and



in the later issues x or IV KAS as the case might be, with the date below (No. 44), the change taking place about the commencement of the present century, when for a time Tranquebar ceased to be in Danish hands.

It was, however, restored in 1814, and from that date the new reverse may very probably have been brought into use. The coins most commonly met with are those of Christian VI, Christian VII, and Frederic VI, the latest specimen in my collection bearing date 1843, only two years after which the English purchased Tranquebar, Serampore and Porto Novo, and the



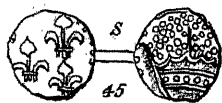
Danish power, whose missionaries had been among the first to labor among the natives of Southern India, ceased to exist in the Peninsula. [Since this was first printed, Rev. J. E. Tracy has sent me two new varieties of Tranquebar coins (Nos. 66 and 67). I have also been able to add



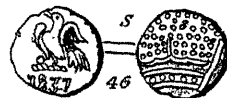
to my own collection a silver issue weighing 35 grs., having on the ob-

verse the monogram of Frederick VI, while the reverse has the value and date, 2, FANO. 1816].

A little further to the north again we find considerable numbers of the issues of the French mint of Pondicherry, or as it was usually called Púdú-chéri. As early as 1604 a French East India Company had been started, and this was succeeded by several others, all the surviving ones of which, together with those of Senegal, the West Indies, and China, were united in 1719. When we consider how extensive were the operations of the French forces in Southern India, and how wide the extent of country over which those operations were carried out, we cannot fail to be surprised at the small number of varieties of French coins struck in India. While the plodding merchants of the English East India Company were trading, building factories, and carrying out extensive mercantile transactions with the natives, leaving to their armies the defence of their rights and the extension of their territorial power, France on the other hand seems to have concentrated her whole energy in the operations of her forces, and to have paid comparatively little attention to the more peaceful avocations of her Company. Hence, while we find a large variety of issues of the English mints set up in various places as they fell under her power, and once even in Pondicherry (?), the French capital itself, during a temporary occupation, we find the coins struck by the French to have been comparatively few in number and meagre in variety of design. All appear to have borne on the obverse either the cock or fleur-de-lis, and on the reverse either the date, the word Púdúchéri in Tamil, or a design somewhat resembling that found on the coins of Travancore.



The silver coins (Nos. 45 and 46) occur in two sizes, the one weighing approximately 65 grains, and the other about 23.



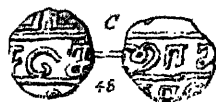
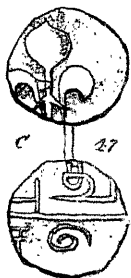
These bear either the cock or several fleurs-de-lis on the obverse, and on the reverse the design I have already alluded to, though what it is intended to represent I have never certainly ascertained. The earlier copper issues are of thick copper, and bear on one side the date only and on the other usually five fleurs-de-lis. The latter are in two sizes, the largest of which is rep-

resented in No. 47, and bear either the cock or a single fleur-de-lis, and on the reverse the mint town (Púdúchéri) in Tamil. The next smaller size exactly corresponds with the fleur-de-lis type just described, and weighs about 30 grains, while the smallest of all bears the unintelligible sign on one side and the name of the usual mint town on the other. This same design may also have been used by the Dutch, as we find one series of coins with it on one side, and on the other the mint town (Negapatam), in Tamil. Owing to the want of official records on the subject, it is in some instances well nigh impossible to know to what mint or to what nation to apply some of these small copper pieces.

Two pieces of this character are Nos. 48 and 49. The former of these bears on one side plainly enough the word Púdúchéri in Tamil, but, as is often the case, only one or two letters of the name on the reverse are complete. It may not improbably read Nágappattanam (Negapatam), but this would hardly help us to decide to what power to assign it. The French, as far as we know, never held Negapatam, though on the other hand history proves that in 1693 the Dutch were masters of both places, and held them till the signing of the Treaty of Ryswick.<sup>1</sup> It may be that during this period the coin I now figure was struck, though it must be confessed that its appearance and state

of preservation go far to contradict this theory. The other coin to which I allude (No. 49) bears on one side the word Sri "holy," and on the reverse Kampani in Tamil, and may not improbably be one of the wretched little pieces which disgraced the English mints in India at the beginning of the present century, or the closing years of the last.

Before passing on to speak of the issues struck at different times by the English in India, we must glance hurriedly at those of the Dutch, whose power at one time was very considerable in the southern portions of the Peninsula.



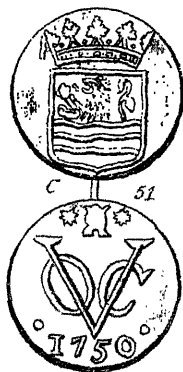
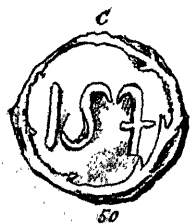
<sup>1</sup> *Cont.* "Revue Belge de Numismatique," année 1887.



The chief operations of their East India Company were of course carried out in the island of Ceylon, but the number of their coins still found in the adjacent portions of the main land plainly enough prove how considerable were their dealings with it, while the inscriptions on some show that they were actually struck here. From the time of their first appearance in Indian waters, the chief aim and object of the Dutch appears to have been to become masters of Ceylon. At the very commencement of the seventeenth century, partly by alliances with the Sinhalese, partly by the constant warfare that they waged with the Portuguese who had already taken and fortified the capital Colombo, they left no means untried to gain their end. It was not, however, till the middle of that century, when a Sinhalese army completely routed the Portuguese forces, that they obtained a firm foothold in the island.

This victory, coupled with their alliance with the victors, turned the tables in their favor, and from this time we find their power steadily increasing, till their final conquest of the Portuguese in 1656 made them complete masters of Ceylon, the natives (to whose coinage I have already alluded) thenceforward sinking into utter nonentities, a position which they have ably maintained ever since.

The early issues of the Dutch were of very coarse make, without definite shape and of the rudest possible design. No. 50 is a fair specimen of their earlier productions. This series consisted of 2, 1,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ , and  $\frac{1}{8}$  stiver pieces. They were stamped with the value of the coin, the initials st. (the T or both letters inverted) being used as an abbreviation of the full word stiver (or as it was then spelt *stuiver*). This style of coin was succeeded by one bearing the monogram of the Company, formed by the three letters V.O.C. (Vereinigte Ostindische Compagnie) in which the O and the C are superscribed each on one side line of the V. This monogram will soon become a familiar sight to the coin collector in Southern India, from the fact of its almost invariably occurring on the small thin copper issues, a quarter



stiver in value, known as "duits," or "challis," which are still met with in great quantities both in Ceylon and all over the extreme south of India (No. 51); indeed, according to Sir Walter Elliot, "the copper money now current in Cochin consists entirely" of them. The V.O.C. half stiver of 1644, struck at Batavia, is also occasionally met with in Ceylon. It is a thin coin about the size of a challi, having the  $\frac{1}{2}$  ST above the monogram, and on the reverse the field occupied by a sword, around which runs the legend BATAVIA ANNO 1644.

Under the monogram invariably appears the year of issue, and from the list given in *De Munten van Nederlandsch Indie* of Messrs. Netscher and Vander Chijs, these appear to range from 1726 to 1798. The side bearing the monogram is always the same, with the exception of the mint mark (a star or other small device) which surmounts it, and of course the year of mintage; but on the reverse the coats-of-arms vary considerably. In those of Holland we find the whole shield occupied by a lion rampant facing left; for Zeeland a demi-lion rampant alone appears, and beneath it three waving lines, representing the sea, sometimes on a plain field, at others having the legend LUCTOR ET EMERGO circumscribed. Another series, that of Gelderland, with the usual monogram obverse, bears two rampant lions facing each other (combatant) within a divided shield, the inscription around these being IN DEO EST SPES NOSTRA, a motto which also occurs around the ship on some specimens of the silver 6 stiver pieces. The Utrecht series again, extending from 1744 to 1794, has a plain divided shield supported by a lion rampant on either side; while that of Friesland, with dates varying from 1731 to 1792, has two lions "passant guardant," but neither of these bears any motto. Challis also occur bearing the arms of Zeeland and Gelderland, the obverse of which have the names of the State, ZEELANDIA or D. GEL-RAE, instead of the arms of those provinces, the former being occasionally surmounted by a castle supported by two stars. Half challis are comparatively rare, and are usually only of two varieties, some bearing the plain arms, but unsupported, others the shield with lion rampant. On both the whole and half challis the coat-of-arms is invariably surmounted by a crown, which, however, varies considerably

and rather apparently with the dates than with the form of arms. Before leaving this series of curious thin coins, I may mention specimens occasionally met with, bearing on one side the usual monogram with the words JAVA INDIE or BATAV OF NEDERL-INDIE on the reverse, and under it the date.

Contemporaneous with those last described is a series of thick and roughly-formed medals, bearing the same monogram, and above it one of the letters C, G, or T (not improbably to denote the town of mintage, Colombo, Galle, or Trincomallee). On those in which the C surmounts the monogram the word STIVER appears in full with the date below. Those with C and T have the abbreviated form of the value, while on the 2 stiver piece of Galle (?) the value, 2 ST, occurs below the monogram, and on the reverse under the date the letters in Tamil, the initial of "Elankai," the vernacular name of Ceylon. The difference in style and make between these two series of coins, the challis and the thick ones now described, is so extremely marked that I think there can hardly be a doubt but that the former were made in a European mint and exported for the Eastern currency, while the latter have the most decided appearance of being "country-made." One particularly rough specimen I came across in a village near Colombo, which consisted of a small bar of metal about the size of one's little finger, with either end flattened out, the monogram occupying one end and the value,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ST, the other. This piece has, I believe, now found a fit resting place in the Colombo Museum. Belonging to this series is a neatly executed  $\frac{1}{4}$  stiver piece, having on the obverse the monogram surmounted by a C, and on the reverse  $\frac{1}{4}$  ST. The greater number of these thick coarse coins, however, bear no date, and are smaller than those already described, and these (or most of them) were undoubtedly struck on the main land. By far the commonest have above the monogram the initial letter of the mint town, Negapatam, while on the other side occurs the name of that port in full, thus affording additional evidence of the truth of the theory that the C, G, and T alluded to above were intended, as suggested by Mr. Rhys Davids, to serve a similar purpose.

Another small series of coins (Nos. 52, 53, and 54), which I cannot satisfactorily describe, bears above the monogram the letter P, doubtless for

the mint town Pulicat, where we know a Dutch mint was at one time established, and where most of the specimens in my collection were procured. Of



these, Nos. 52 and 53 represent two specimens of the same issue, the one showing the upper, the other the lower portion of the reverse die. On these, three incomprehensible figures occur, one above another, the upper somewhat resem-



bling the emblematic sun and moon, frequently met with on the products of the native mints. The lower two figures appear similar, and *may* be rude imitations of boats, on either side of which are two others equally, if not more, inexplicable, and beneath all what looks like an illiterate attempt to copy a



Persian word. No. 54 is equally incomprehensible, and on the obverse of this even the P is reversed and written 9, while the reverse reduces the whole of the figures I have tried to describe to a nearer resemblance to an unintelligible Hindustani word. Another coin in my collection, bearing a V above the monogram, has on the reverse what, by a vast stretch of imagination, might be taken to read Zerb Palicat (in Persian), while another has a II above, with a reverse which is so confused that I have never been able to get the most imaginative numismatist to suggest anything better than that it must be "double Dutch." When one looks at these rude caricatures of coins (and, as we shall presently see, we were not far ahead of our Dutch neighbors at the time), and then compares them with the clear cut issues of the Moghals and Pathans struck centuries before, fine in design and exquisite in workmanship, with every letter well defined and clear, one can hardly believe that we were posing among them as a civilized and civilizing power, though for our own credit, be it said, we had not then got so far as the establishment of "Schools of Art."

Early Dutch coins in silver are somewhat rare. Small one and two stiver pieces of 1820-30 are perhaps the commonest of the silver issues of the Dutch in the East. On the reverse they usually bear the arms of the respective States surmounted by a crown, and exactly resemble the challis I have already alluded to, except for the 1.S or 2.S in the field, and the milling which runs round the *field* and not, as in modern coins, round the *edge*. On

the reverse we find<sup>1</sup> the name of the State, *e. g.*, HOL-LAN-DIA OR ZEE-LAN-DIA in three lines, with the date below. One meets, too, with six-stiver pieces, bearing on one side a ship and on the other the coat of arms surmounted by a crown and having in the field the date and value of the piece. The Dutch are also said to have issued a "Rix-Dollar," but I have never come across a specimen, nor have I met any collector who has seen one; indeed, as far as I can learn, Bertolacci is the only author who ever mentions them.<sup>2</sup> Possibly he alludes to the 30 *stiver pieces*, which, with *dukatons* and gold *ducats* are still to be seen, now and again, in the possession of the old Sinhalese gentry. As Negapatam, the last Indian possession of the Dutch, was sold in 1783 to the English, and in 1802 the peace of Amiens made England also mistress of Ceylon, while the Dutch "moved on" beyond our limits, it behoves us to leave them now and to pass on, firstly, to the consideration of the English issues in Ceylon, and then to those struck on the main land.

The very first year of the British occupation of Ceylon witnessed the issue of a coinage peculiar to the island, and from that day to this the same system of issuing a separate series has been continued. Some of the early

<sup>1</sup> The coins of Frisia or West-Frisia date back as far as 1660. In some specimens of this fine series we find instead of the usual coat of arms a crowned lion rampant left, bearing in his right paw a sword and in his left a bunch of arrows. These names, Frisia, Zeelandia, Hollandia, Gel Rae, and so forth, of course owe their origin to the Netherland provinces of Frisland, Zeeland, Holland and Gelderland, just as England boasts of her Nova Scotia and her New South Wales, or the coins may have been struck in those provinces.

<sup>2</sup> In the part of the *Revue Belge de Numismatique* lately published, appears a translation by Count Maurin Nabuys of a letter written by a Mr. Canter Visscher, a Dutch Chaplain in Cochin in 1743, in which he gives the following description of coins current at that period:

"Les monnaies païennes ou hindoues étaient des *pagodes*, espèces en or de la valeur de deux *disdales*, ayant le même poids que les *ducats*, mais d'un titre inférieure. Ces pièces doivent leur nom à l'image d'une idole, qu'elles portent d'un côté. . . . Les espèces maures en circulation dans toutes les Indes étaient les *roupies* et *demi-roupies* en or ou en argent.

"Les monnaies européennes étaient, en argent, les *écus* dis *risdales*, les *dukatons*, les *piastres espagnoles* dites *spaanse matten*; en or, les *ducats* et enfin en cuivre, les *dutes* et *demi-dutes*.

"La Compagnie des Indes orientales avait adopté le *florin* comme unité de compte, bien que le *risdale* équivalait en Europe à 50 sous et aux Indes seulement à 48 sous, fût généralement employé dans les transactions commerciales privées.

"Le *ducaton* était l'espèce principalement mise en circulation par la Compagnie, surtout à Batavia. Sa valeur fut fixée par le tarif de la Compagnie à 15 *escalins* ou *schellingen* de 6 sous, tandis qu'il ne valait en réalité que 10½ *escalins*. De cette manière la Compagnie se faisait un bénéfice de 2½ *escalins*, soit 15 sous, sur chaque *ducaton*!

"Les *ducats* servaient surtout dans le commerce avec la Perse. Les établissements néerlandais à Malabar et à Ceylan étaient généralement pourvus de *ducats*, attendu que le commerce du poivre se faisait toujours avec cette monnaie d'or fixée au taux de 18 *escalins*. Les *ducats* de Venise étaient les plus estimés.

"A Malabar, les petites monnaies indigènes d'or et d'argent étaient généralement appelées *fanams*. Il en existe plusieurs variétés, à cause du nombre de monarques qui possédaient le droit de battre monnaie; aussi différaient-ils entre eux en valeur.

"Les petites monnaies en plomb ou en cuivre s'appelaient *boes ero kken* et *cas ou cashs*."

Anglo-Ceylon types appear to have been struck in England, as they resemble the stamp of coin at that time in use in Europe, and differ widely from those usually turned out of the native mints. On the obverse these coins bear the well-executed figure of an elephant, standing left, with the date 1802 in the exergue, surrounded by a circle and a ring of dots, and on the reverse the fraction of the rix-dollar (the value of which was equal to 48 stivers), with the circumscription CEYLON GOVERNMENT bordered as on the obverse. This series occurs in three sizes, 1-48, 1-96 and 1-192 of a rix-dollar, which, at this time, as far as English issues were concerned, was but a nominal coin, the actual rix-dollar not being issued till 1821. This was contemporaneous with a far ruder imitation of the same, evidently the product of a local mint and first issued in 1801. While obverse and reverse remained the same, except in point of value, the workmanship was of a very different character. Instead of the thin symmetrical coin already described, we have a set of thick, clumsy pieces, closely resembling the familiar Mohammedan dubs, so common in Indian bazaars, while the style of literation is infinitely inferior, and the careless method of stamping rarely brings the die on to the centre of the coin. This series appears both in silver and copper; in the former metal of the value of 96, 48 and 24 stivers, and in the latter of 1-12, 1-24 and 1-48 of a rix-dollar. The silver issues of this series are now very rare. The dates on them extend up to 1817. In 1815 and 1821, however, we find a return to the European style of coining, and the issue of a series of coins of the value of one rix-dollar in silver, and of two, one, and half stivers in copper. The silver coin bears on the obverse the usual elephant in the centre, the lower portion being surrounded by a wreath of leaves, beneath which appears the date, 1821, while above is the inscription in three lines, CEYLON ONE RIX DOLLAR; the reverse bears the king's head to the left crowned with a wreath of leaves and the inscription GEORGIUS IV. D. G. BRITANNIARUM REX F. D. The copper series also bears the elephant, but without the wreath, the date being 1815 and the inscription above, CEYLON, TWO STIVERS, the reverse being as the last, except that the head and inscription are those of George III instead of George IV, and the head faces to the right. Two small silver coins also

deserve notice here. The first of these bears on one side the word FANAM, and on the other TOKEN, each inscribed round a small dot in a circle in the centre, though whether this little coin is peculiar to Ceylon or not I cannot say. I have met with several specimens in the island, but never one in India, and Mr. Rhys Davids in his excellent notice of the "Coins and Measures of Ceylon," in the *Numismata Orientalia*, places it among those peculiar thereto. The other to which I allude, he describes as follows:—"It is half an inch in diameter, has on the obverse the bust of Victoria, surrounded by the legend VICTORIA D. G. BRITANNIAR. REGINA F. D., and on the reverse the figures 1½ and the date 1842, surmounted by a crown and surrounded by a wreath. This little coin, seldom met with in Ceylon, is beautifully executed and was struck in England." This description so exactly corresponds with that of the 1½d. of the "Maundy" money, that I cannot but think that the specimens alluded to belong to that series, or to an issue of this silver piece, still to a certain extent in circulation in Malta, as a fraction of 3d., which sum appears to be the most usual charge for all small commodities and services in Valletta.

There only remains to be mentioned the series of copper coins now current in the island, where the decimal system has been introduced since 1870. No rupee peculiar to Ceylon has been struck, but pieces of the value of 5, 1, ½ and ¼ cents are peculiar thereto, one hundred cents being equivalent to one rupee of the Indian system. These coins bear on the obverse the queen's head to the left with VICTORIA above and QUEEN below in an ornamental border. On the reverse appears a palm tree, while in the field we have on one side 5 cents in Sinhalese, and on the other 5 cents in Tamil, the border containing the word CEYLON, with the value of the piece.

Passing thence across Adam's Bridge to the main land, we have to consider briefly the issues of the English, the now paramount power in this country; but, before doing so, must take a hasty glance at the period of history that marked the first appearance of that power in the East. The close of the sixteenth century may be said to have witnessed the birth of England's commercial undertakings beyond the seas that surround her.

Before that period internal dissensions, civil wars and the general policy of her rulers had prevented her embarking in any but warlike undertakings abroad. In the middle of the nineteenth century we see her the ruler of the seas, with so vast an extent of colonial territory that the sun never sets on the boundaries of her dominions:—in the middle of the sixteenth, only three hundred years before, we find her possessions almost exclusively bounded by the seaboard of Great Britain, with a mercantile marine so weak that London at that time is said to have “possessed but four ships of above one hundred and two tons burden, exclusive of the navy royal.” Now her merchant princes absorb an enormous percentage of the trade of the world: then the cities of the Hanseatic league appear to have almost monopolized the trade of her main towns, while Portugal, who, by the discovery of the Cape route, virtually commanded what little Indian trade there was, vied with the Italian States, who held the trade of Egypt and the Persian Gulf, in supplying the Western isles with the products and the luxuries of the East. The accession of Elizabeth, however, inaugurated a new era in the naval history of England. Recognizing the advantages of holding in her own hands the importation of those goods in which her merchant subjects dealt, and realizing, too, that she, as a defender of a faith at variance with that of most of the maritime powers of Europe, required above all others a strong naval force, she spared no pains to encourage the promotion of that power, which was destined, in the distant future, to raise her country to the highest rank among the nations of the world. “The result,” as a writer at the commencement of this century says, “was that the commercial resources of England developed themselves with a rapidity truly wonderful. The scene might have reminded a fanciful spectator of one of those changes undergone by vegetable nature, when after having slept in the indurated soil, under every appearance of hopeless barrenness, a few vernal days seem to awaken it at once into full blossom.” Her formation in 1554 of the Baltic and Russia Companies, her incorporation in 1566 of the “Fellowship of English merchants for the discovery of new trades,” the institution in 1581 of the Turkey Company and such like measures, formed the germ whence sprang the vast mercantile power of England.



It was not, however, till in the closing years of her reign that Elizabeth first turned her attention to the introduction of a direct trade with India. With this aim in view, and urged on by the destruction on the English coast of a Venetian vessel laden with East Indian produce of enormous value, she despatched an envoy to the Court of the Moghal Emperor at Delhi to obtain permission to trade in his possessions. This was followed two years later (A. D. 1599) by the institution and incorporation of the first East India Company under the Earl of Cumberland. Under the terms of their charter they enjoyed the exclusive right of trading with the Indies for fifteen years, coupled with a distinct stipulation that, at the termination of that period a further extension of fifteen years should be granted if applied for. Accordingly on the 22d April, 1603, the first expedition, consisting of four ships under the command of Captain Lancaster, a mariner who had already proved his skill and daring as a navigator, started for the East. To trace, however, at all in detail the history of this and the numerous other companies that followed, finds no place in a paper devoted to a consideration of their coins, and, moreover, were I to attempt to touch on the vacillating policy of James and his successors at home, or of the constant intrigues and counter-intrigues of the native princes of India, in their dealings with the Company abroad,—of the hidden antagonism at one time and the overt hostility of Dutch and French at another,—all these would take up far more space than I have at my disposal now.

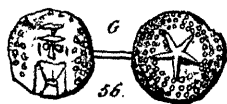
In 1640 the East India Company purchased the town and port of Madraspatnam. On the fatal field of Talikota the last vestige of actual power had been wrested by the Mohammedans from the once powerful house of Vijayanagar, and the representative of the royal race had retired to the fastnesses of the Chendraghiri. Here he sold to the English the ground where now stands Fort St. George, with permission to establish a factory and fort there, at the same time granting them jurisdiction over the natives, an exemption from customs, and the right to coin money, with the proviso that the pattern in use with his dynasty should be followed. This consisted of the figure of a standing god, the reverse of the coin being granulated and convex. It

does not appear certain that any coins were struck for some time after this. Twenty years later, however, we find Charles II inheriting, as part of the dower of Catharine of Braganza, the Island of Bombay, and this territory was leased to the East India Company for £10 per annum, a fair proof of the value of land in the East in those days. Several coins were struck in his time, a mint having been established under royal letters patent, and permission granted to coin rupees, pice and budgrooks,<sup>1</sup> which, however, were not to be of the same pattern as the coins in use in England. Regarding these coins Tavernier, whose works were published in Paris in 1676 by Chapuzeau, one of his comrades in his eastern travels, after observing that the English in their fort of Bombay coin silver, copper, and tin, observes that "this money will not pass at Súrat nor in any part of the Great Moghal's dominions, or in any of the territories of the Indian kings; only it passes among the English in their fort and some two or three leagues up in the country and in the villages along the coast." To most of his coins there is no need to allude, as they were neither minted for circulation in this Presidency, nor, as far as I am aware, have any specimens been discovered here. There is, however, one notable exception, which I have figured as 55. This coin, which occurs in two sizes (weighing respectively 25 and 12½ grs.), is thus described by Mr. E. Thomas in a paper in the *Indian Antiquary* for Nov., 1882: "Obverse, two linked C's (the monogram of Charles II) with two or three dots at the sides. Reverse, the ordinary standing figure of the Indian god (Vishnu?)." It has usually been attributed to the Bombay mint, though for the following reasons I am inclined to think it more probable that it is an issue of Madras, coined during Charles's reign. In the first place the *type* of coin connects it with the design imposed by the Vijayanagar king on the Madras mint; secondly, it differs entirely from all the known issues struck at the time in Bombay; thirdly, it fits in with the Hindu system of the south; and lastly, it is occasionally met with in this Presidency.



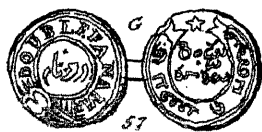
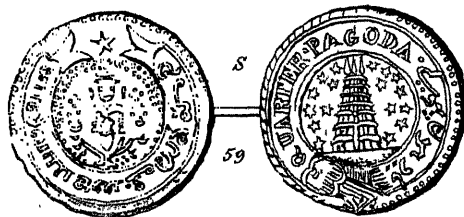
<sup>1</sup> There can, I think, be but little doubt, but that this word owed its origin to the Portuguese "bazarucco," the name of a coin which had been in use by that power for several years in India; and more especially

as both were in the same metal, tutenag. Dr. da Cunha attributes the derivation of the term to *ruk* (small change) and *hazar* (market).



while from inquiries I have made from collectors in Bombay, I find that it is rarely if ever found there. At the same time, or shortly after, Madras also minted the "star" pagoda. Here too the same figure was preserved, but on the granulated surface was a five-pointed star (No. 56), whence came its popular name.

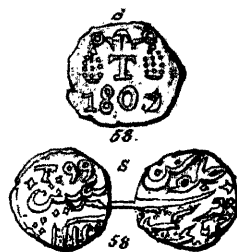
This issue was followed by a series of coins in which the same figure was preserved on the obverse, but surrounded by a scroll, on which the value of the coin was inscribed in Tamil and Telugu, while on the reverse appears the "gopura" or entrance porch of a temple, designed perhaps to keep up its reputation as a "pagoda." A number of stars were placed in the field, with a scroll around, bearing the value in English and Hindustani. A series of these coins were struck, consisting of a double and single pagoda in gold, and a half and quarter in silver, all following the same model (No. 59) and agreeing with the Hindu system, under which 8 kás went to the fanam and 42 fanams to the pagoda.



No fraction of the fanam, following the pagoda model, was, however, struck, but coins were minted of the value of five, three, two, and one fanam, a specimen of which I figure as 57. Two types of the whole series occur, differing, however, so slightly that it is unnecessary to describe them minutely. Each of these has on the obverse a scroll ending in a buckle with the value of the coin in English, the Hindustani equivalent occupying the centre, while on the reverse the scroll is surmounted by a star, the value of the coin in Telugu being in the centre, and the same in Tamil as a legend.

Local silver coins were also made for issue at some of the Company's factories, the commonest being those of Tellicherry, of which two types occur, each having the initial letter of the mint (T), (No. 58), and one of the scales so common on the early copper coins both of Bombay and Madras with the letter under the balance and date (1805) in the exergue. The other

with the name of the mint town in Persian, the T being placed on the obverse with 99 beside it. I had always looked upon this 99 as being an abbreviated form of the date 1799, but I have recently seen a small *gold* coin exactly corresponding to the one here described, but with the date 1801 in the exergue, the "99" still appearing at the top. To the issue struck at Pondicherry I have already alluded. The letter P here takes the place of the T, and the name of the mint town occurs in Persian as in the last. Cannanore also boasted, or is said to have boasted, of a similar issue, though there appears to be some uncertainty about it.



The copper coins of the Company,<sup>1</sup> prior to about 1700, are very rare, especially in the Southern Presidency, and as few of them bear any date, and fewer still any mint town, it is somewhat hard to discover when or where they were struck. Several appear to have been issued by Charles II and a few by James II, a notice of which, well worthy of perusal, appeared from the pen of Mr. E. Thomas in the *Indian Antiquary* for November, 1882. George II also appears to have struck money in Bombay both in copper and in tutenag, which usually bears on the obverse a large crown surmounted by the letters G. R. and with the abbreviation BOMB. (Bombay) in the exergue. On the reverse we usually find the motto *Auspicio Regis et Senatus Angliæ*, or, as on the "Pice Bombaye," the monogram of the Company V.E.I.C. in a divided shield, surmounted by a device like the figure 4, and this, with some few variations, continued on most of the Company's coins up to the time of the introduction of their coat of arms at the commencement of the present century. A good deal of discussion has arisen as to the origin and meaning of this 4, but as a reference to the hand-books of the mercantile tokens of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries proves the same mark to be of very common occurrence on the pieces struck by the tradesmen of those periods. I think there is every reason to regard it as merely a trade mark.

<sup>1</sup> A very much needed contribution to numismatic literature is, I believe, now in course of preparation by Mr. E. Thurston of the Central Museum, Madras, in

the shape of a complete catalogue of the coins of the East India Company.

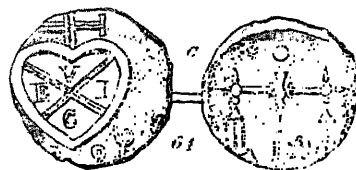
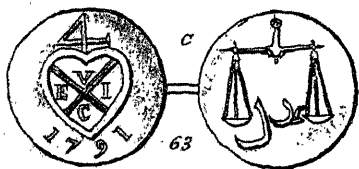
In one series of coins struck in the south during the eighteenth century, we find another form of monogram, if so it may be called, a specimen of which I figure No. 60. On the one side invariably appears the date in large characters between two waving lines, while the other is divided by a horizontal line, from the centre of which the upper portion is again divided by a cross. In each of the upper divisions is a figure like a crescent moon to the right, the lower portion of the shield being occupied by the letter E, and the whole surrounded by an ornamental border. The earliest coin of this series that I have met with was found in the extreme south (Kelikarai) and bears date<sup>1</sup> 1702, and as I have in my own collection one struck as late as 1801 and several intermediate years, the series must have ranged over a century.

About 1730 a new form of triply-divided shield appears, one of the letters E.I.C. (No. 61) occupying each division, above which is a waving line, surmounted as usual by the 4. On the reverse we still find usually the date,



but occasionally this gives place to the cross lines which appear on the early Mysore and other Hindu coins. This form of monogram appears to have remained in fashion till the latter part of the last century, when we find a return to the earliest form, in which the V.E.I.C. appears, as is shown in Nos. 62, 63, and 64. On some of these, as for instance 62, the date still retains its place on

the reverse, while on others the "scales of justice" (Nos. 63, 65) takes its place with the Persian word *adl* (justice) beneath. About



1790 a change also took place in the style of the Company's coins. The

<sup>1</sup> With the limited number of specimens available for comparison, the dates of the commencement and discontinuance of particular series can, of course, only be approximate, and in some instances may not be that.

former rough piece, unmilled and shapeless, gave way to the circular European form of coin, that of 1791 (No. 63) being about the first to boast of an even and milled edge. About the same period the Company's coat of arms appeared for the first time, and with it came innumerable series of coins, the reverses of which (and sometimes obverses as well) were occupied by the value of the piece in the language of the people of the country in which it was intended to pass current, some consequently being impressed with as many as four different types of character, such as Persian, Devanagari, Canarese, Tamil, Telugu and so forth.



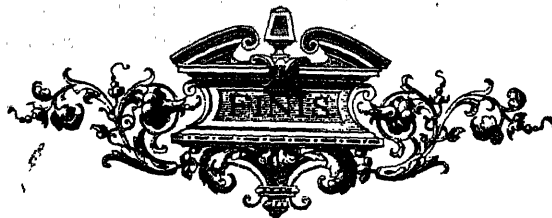
To return now to the issues in the more precious metals that found currency beyond the limits of the Madras Presidency. While the Hindu method of pagoda and fanam was in use here, the rest of India had the Mohammedan rupee system, and this consisted of an endless variety of issues from native mints, each gradually but surely depreciating in value, in inverse ratio to the comparative integrity of the ruler of the State at the time. Even the Company's coins varied very considerably, each Presidency having its own particular mint or mints. Those struck in Calcutta (known as the "sikka" rupee) bear on the obverse the name of the then ruling Moghal Emperor Shah Alum and on the reverse in Persian, 'Struck at Murshidábád in the 19th year of the happy reign;' those of Faruckábád (afterwards struck at Sagur) have, in the same language, 'Struck at Faruckábád in the 45th year of the happy reign.'

The appearance of the same "jalús" date on each coin of the same mint would render the assignment of anything approaching the year of mintage of a given coin impossible, except by means of assay, were it not that a difference was made in the style of milling. Thus the old Calcutta rupee from 1793 to 1818 and that of Faruckábád from 1803 to 1809 had an *oblique* milling. Those coined between 1819 and 1832 in the former and between 1819 and 1824 in the latter, had the edge straight-milled like the ordinary coins of to-day, and all subsequent to these a plain and unmilled edge. The Bombay series bears date the 46th year of Shah Alum's reign, as stated in the Persian

inscription. The Bombay (?) mint also turned out in 1825 a series of rough coins, consisting of a mohur, rupee, half and quarter rupee, bearing the same "jalús" date (46) with the year of the Christian era (except in the mohur) apparently *punched* upon it. On the obverse the upper dot of the letter *shin* of *Shah Alum* takes the form of a crown, while above the final letter *h* are three dots surmounted by a star or flower. The same mint is also credited with a minute and rare coin in gold of the value of one rupee, on which a seven-pointed star appears in the last letter<sup>1</sup> of the word *jalus*. On the introduction of the rupee system into the more southerly Presidency, Arcot, which had, as we have already seen, been the mint town of the Nawábs of the Karnatik, also appeared upon the Company's coins. A complete series of mohur, double rupee, rupee, half, quarter, eighth and sixteenth rupee was struck there and bore as date the 20th year of the reign of Aziz-ud-dhin Alemgir.

By Act VII of 1836 the "sikka" and other coins with Persian legends passed away, and the present stamp of rupee, weighing 180 grains, of which 165 grains are pure silver, came into universal use throughout the country. From this point I need hardly say a more sordid, if not less absorbing, interest centres around coin-collecting, but one regarding which I fear I can offer no practical "hints," though were I able to do so, my circle of readers would doubtless be considerably increased.

<sup>1</sup> The "last" letter of the Persian word *jalus*, is by their method what we should call the *first*.







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